

DAUMIER'S PARIS

CARICATURE AND CULTURAL TRAUMA IN THE AGE OF HAUSSMANN



This catalogue coincides with *Daumier's Paris: Caricature and Cultural Trauma in the Age of Haussmann*, an exhibition organized by The Art Gallery at Kingsborough Community College, CUNY. The exhibition was on view from April 19 - May 20, 2016.

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Catalogue Design: Brian E. Hack

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Acknowledgements

The Art Gallery at Kingsborough Community College thanks the following for their invaluable assistance during the creation, installation, and promotion of this exhibition: Jennifer Pride; Reanna Ramasami; Nancy Rosario; Maria Patestas, Student Life; Kim Sanchez; Rosemarie Cozza; Cathy Galeano; Diana Naccarato; Rachel Perez; Rafael De Marco Teixeira, Thomas Brzozowski; The Buildings and Grounds Department; James Weaver; The Purchasing and Property Departments; Dawn Walker; Michael Goldstein; President Farley Herzek; Jose Arenas; and Caterina Y. Pierre.

Front Cover: Nadar (Gaspard-Felix Tournachon, 1820-1910), *Honoré Daumier*, 1855 [Detail]; Stereoscopic Image, John House Stereograph Collection, Florida State University.

Inside Back Cover: *Paris. – Expropriations Pour le Prolongement de l'avenue de l'Opéra. Déménagement des habitants de la Butte-des-Moulins* [Detail]. *L'Univers Illustré*, October 21, 1876.

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THE ART GALLERY AT KINGSBOROUGH COMMUNITY COLLEGE
CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK



From Medieval to Modern: The Haussmannization of Paris

The term *Haussmannization* refers to the urban renewal project headed by Napoleon III and Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann (1809-1891, frontispiece) in Paris from 1853-1870.[1] Having been exiled in London prior to his reign, Napoleon III (Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, 1808 - 1873, Fig. 1) sought to emulate and outdo the British capital's urban design in the capital of his new French empire: Paris. Paris was to be the consummate modern city full of green spaces, broad tree-lined boulevards, geometric street plans, and harmonious architectural facades. The problem was, Paris was still very much a medieval city that had grown organically over hundreds of years in a haphazard fashion. The tangled web of dark alleyways, narrow streets, random architectural styles, and dangerous building structures did not match the vision Napoleon III had for his Parisian capital.



Fig. 1. Meyer and Pierson, *Napoleon III* (Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, 1808 - 1873). Albumen print, c. 1865.

Moreover, the population of Paris had more than doubled in the first half of the nineteenth-century so that just over a million people were occupying just under fifteen square miles in the city center.[2] Housing shortages led to illegal, often dangerous dwellings such as shoddy additions half-timbered houses that were easily susceptible to fire. The old houses that lined the bridges in heart the city, around the Île de la Cité, were built up to dangerous heights, supported by leaning timber beams that could give way at any moment and collapse into the Seine river below. The city was a veritable cesspool with open gutters lining the streets for raw sewage that people dumped out of their windows and which emptied into the Seine river, the city did not have clean running water, nor were there open green spaces for fresh air circulation or sunshine within the labyrinthine city.

Paris's organic structure and unsanitary environment made the city vulnerable to the plague and other epidemics that ravaged the city repeatedly over the centuries, most recently in the cholera outbreak of 1832 which killed nearly twenty-thousand people. The narrow streets also enabled the city's impoverished and disenchanted working class to build barricades across entire streets in their efforts to topple unpopular regimes. Indeed, the French governmental structure had changed radically four times in the first half of the nineteenth-century. During the preceding period under Louis Philippe (1830-48), street barricades and violent riots were a regular occurrence and ultimately led to the King's abdication in 1848.

Left: Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann, as photographed between 1860-1865 by Pierre Petit.

Second Empire urban upheaval and geographic decimation was buttressed by violent regime changes, revolutions, and wars. There was no peace in Paris during the nineteenth-century: the city changes from Empire to Restoration, to July Monarchy, Second Republic, Second Empire, Commune, and Third Republic.[3] Haussmannization begins around the time of Louis-Napoleon's coup d'état and a newly established empire and ends on the brink of the Franco-Prussian war and the Commune. From 1852-1870 France was involved in the Crimean War (1853-56), the Second Opium War (1860), and the Franco-Mexican War (1861-67). This was a period of social, cultural, and financial uncertainty, instability, and rupture.

If Paris were to become a leading modern metropolis, the city needed a major overhaul. Such an endeavor would unavoidably come at great expense to the city and its citizens and would require an overseer who would not cower to political opposition, social entanglements, or personal sentiments. Napoleon III brought in a provincial public administrator who had little, if any, experience with urban renovation. Georges-Eugène Haussmann was appointed Prefect of the Seine on June 22, 1853 to mastermind the largest and most aggressive public works project Europe had known. He was charged with opening up the congested city and eliminating the narrow streets where



Fig. 2. Charles Murand (engraver), *Démolitions pour le percement de la rue des Écoles, vue prise de la rue Saint-Nicolas-du- Chardonnet* [*Demolitions for the building of Rue des Ecoles, view taken from rue Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet*]. From *L'Illustration*, *Journal Universel*, June 26, 1858. Collection of the author.



Fig. 3. *Embellissements de Paris. –Percement de la butte des Moulins avec l'ouverture de l'avenue Napoléon, perpendiculaire à la façade du nouvel Opéra et aboutissant au Théâtre-Français. Vue prise de la Toiture du foyer du nouvel Opéra*[Improvements to Paris, opening of Avenue Napoleon after the building of the *Butte des Moulins* with the opening of the Avenue Napoleon, perpendicular to the façade of the new Opera. View taken from the roof of the foyer of the new Opera, 1877]. From *Le Monde Illustré,* March 27, 1869. Collection of the author.

public mobs and insurrections would gather. To impose order on the organic streets meant appropriating private property, demolishing entire neighborhoods, and dislocating tens of thousands of lower-class citizens to the outskirts of the rapidly changing city (Fig. 2).

Over the course of the next 18 years, Haussmann destroyed and rebuilt a large portions and installed many modern conveniences such as a clean water supply, a sewer system, improved sanitation, traffic circulation, and better air quality (with the exception of the dust generated by construction).[4] In 1860, Napoleon III annexed the suburbs of Paris increasing the size of the city from twelve to nearly thirty square miles which required the calculated expansion of the complex, disordered Parisian streets.

The aggrandizement of the capital city was of prime importance if Paris were to the center of the modern world. The Paris we know today is largely the result of Haussmann's realignment of streets and additions of broad boulevards that created sweeping vistas with monumental focal points (Fig. 3). One of his earliest projects was the extension of the famous Rue du Rivoli that would stretch horizontally across the city alongside the northern façade of the newly extended Louvre Palace and the Place de la Concorde. Offshoots of the Rue du Rivoli end in major monuments such as the Place Vendôme with a 700-ft. column surmounted by a statue of Napoleon Bonaparte. Likewise, Avenue des Champs-Élysées, which begins in the Place de la Concorde with its gold-leaf capped Egyptian obelisk, stretches to western edge of the city and culminates in the well-known Triumphant Arch built to honor the victories of Napoleon Bonaparte. In addition to these and many other boulevard/street-monument pairings, Haussmann expanded the parks and small public green spaces throughout the city to improve air quality and urban life experience in general.

Haussmann's other urban aesthetics include employing new building techniques to create homogenous facades with wrought iron balconies. These balconies served as more than beautiful decoration, they extended the interior space to the exterior bringing in light and air to the upper-level bourgeois apartments. The uniformity of the buildings enhanced the linear grandeur of the boulevards and led the viewer's eye wondrously toward monuments that reinforced the glory of Paris. The hidden covered passageways filled with small shops were quickly replaced by new massive department stores with splendid window displays. The boulevards became a spectacle in the modern city during the Second Empire and continues today as thousand flock to the city each year to experience the City of Lights. What is overlooked by those who enjoy the beauty and elegance the French capital is the great cost to those who lived through the decades of demolition, those who were uprooted from their homes, those whose lives were overturned for the greater good of urban regeneration. The continual shocks of social and cultural destruction and transformation demanded representation.

The present exhibition seeks to increase awareness about the cultural trauma that results from grand-scale urban renewal projects such as Haussmannization. In a culture already burdened by unstable regimes and faltering social systems, Haussmann's progress and improvements proved traumatic for in many ways for urban dwellers. Cultural trauma in-

volves a lived event that shatters and fragments social cohesion. Cultural trauma demands distance, mediation, and representation. This exhibition juxtaposes two types of popular visual media from nineteenth-century newspapers: Honoré Daumier's caricatures and documentary illustrated prints depicting the same situation differently. While the illustrations serve as actual records of the city under construction, Daumier's satirical caricatures in the popular press news journal, Le Charivari, functioned to mitigate the visceral experience of cultural trauma through satire. At the same time, these satirical images were a visual representation of real trauma generated by urban renewal as seen in the illustrations from the same newspaper.

Jennifer Pride
Florida State University
Guest Curator

Jennifer Pride teaches Art History and Women's Studies at Florida State University. Jennifer collected all the works in the current exhibition as part of her doctoral dissertation research. She has presented her research in more than a dozen national and international conferences and symposia. She will defend her dissertation, *Picturing Cultural Trauma in Haussmannized Paris*, in Spring 2016.

NOTES

[1]Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte the nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte (1808-73), was elected President of the French Second Republic in 1848. He took the name Napoleon III upon assuming the French throne as Emperor in 1852.

[2]For detailed accounts of Haussmann's renovations see among others: David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity*, (New York: Routledge, 2003); Shelley Rice, *Parisian Views* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1997); David Jordan, *Transforming Paris: The Life and Labors of Baron Haussmann*, (New York: Free Press, 1995); Christopher Prendergast, *Paris and the Nineteenth-Century*, (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992). All of these authors discuss Haussmann's destructive reordering of the city as having a traumatic effect on the social and cultural conditions and mores of Paris.

[3]French Revolution (1789-1792), French First Republic (1792 -1804; National Convention 1792–95; Directory 1795–99 Consulate 1799–1804), First French Empire under Napoleon I (1804-1814), Bourbon Restoration under Louis XVIII and Charles X (1814-1830), July Revolution (1830), July Monarchy under Louis Philippe d'Orleans (1830-1848), Second Republic (1848-1852), Second Empire under Napoleon III (1852-1870), Third Republic (1870-1940), Paris Commune (1871).

[4]For information about the medical, social, and cultural effects of dust during Haussmannization, see Marni Kessler, *Sheer Presence: The Veil in Manet's Paris* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).


Daumier

Daumier's Paris: Caricature and Cultural Trauma in the Age of Haussmann

In 1878, poet and journalist Hippolyte Magen (1814-1886) published a thorough, well-documented, illustrated history of the Second Empire.[1] In his book, *Histoire du Second Empire,* Magen documents key moments in the process of Haussmannization as well as the ensuing confusion, alienation, anger, and anxiety inflicted on the citizens of Paris by, as he calls it, a mysterious dictatorship:

> Monsieur Haussmann's demolitions started in April and continue everywhere with great activity. The spade and pickaxe attacked the Tuileries and the Louvre; the rue de Rivoli was covered with rubble; he pierced Boulevard de Strasbourg; he transformed the Bois de Boulogne and the Champs-Elysées. Taxpayers' money was arbitrarily spread with full hands, stimulating these gigantic works. . . . The rising costs of food and rent cruelly struck the working class and the middle class; the demolition of the neighborhoods where they lived forced them to seek new lodgings, the high cost imposed on a large number of families is an enduring hardship.[2]

Although Magen's work is satirical, the reverberations of Haussmannization were real. This exhibition seeks to restore the voice of the people who endured this period of traumatic cultural upheaval by bringing together caricatures and illustrations of Haussmann's urban renovations.

This essay reveals how Honoré Daumier (1808-1879) used satire and irony as strategies to dodge the censors and provide social critique during the Second Empire urban renewal project known as Haussmannization. I begin with Daumier's caricatures in the daily satirical newspaper *Le Charivari* to show how the artist documents the confusion and anxiety inherent in the ongoing erasure and remarking of the city's physiognomy and, consequently, social and cultural traditions. Rather than producing overtly critical images, Daumier's caricatures from the early 1850s represent the reality of Haussmannization in coded terms. I extend this visual dynamic to the literary by viewing Daumier's caricatures in the context of the poetry of Charles Baudelaire (1821-1967) since, as I argue, both artists provide first-hand accounts of cultural trauma. Both artists spent their entire lives in one small city that, for twenty years, was undergoing constant, grand-scale physical, social, and cultural destruction and reconstruction. Baudelaire's poetry articulates the same tropes as Daumier's caricatures: loss, nostalgia, confusion, alienation and cognitive dissonance. Next I turn to Daumier's caricatures from the late 1850s to reveal social anxieties regarding the loss of old Paris, the irony of new problems such as, dirt, sewage, traffic congestion, and accidents in the evolving city. Lastly I show that Daumier's caricatures provide a visual record of the ironic distance needed by a culture experiencing the continual shocks of urban transformation. I do so by examining Daumier's visualization of Baudelaire's flâneur at the end of the Empire. Despite press censorship, these caricatures generate a discourse on Haussmannization as cultural trauma and, implicitly, the Second Empire, with regard to disrupting, corrupting, and complicating life in the modern metropolis.

Left: Honoré Daumier, as photographed by Nadar in 1855.

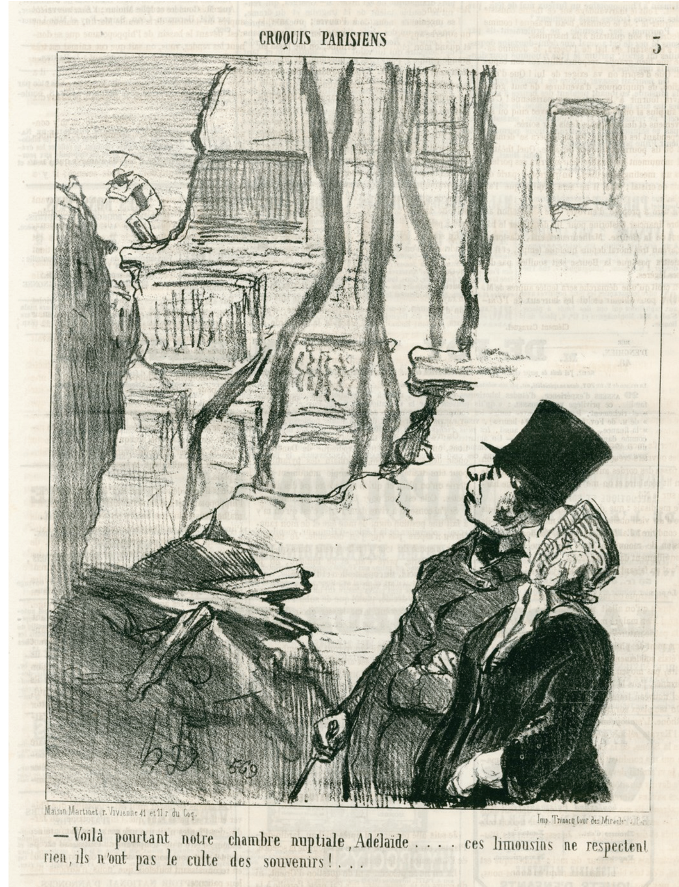


Fig. 1. Honoré Daumier, *Voilà pourtant notre chambre nuptiale, Adélaïde.... ces limousins ne respectent rien, ils n'ont pas le culte des souvenirs!* [Just look at that, Adelaide, that used to be our bedroom.... these masons have no respect for anything, they don't honor memories!]. From *Le Charivari*, December 13, 1853. Collection of the author.

The process of Haussmannization lasted from 1853 to 1870. Haussmann bludgeoned the city into modernity in under 20 years. A law enacted by Napoleon III

in 1852 allowed for the expropriation of private property as needed for the creation of new streets through the existing urban fabric. The prefect demolished most of the narrow and secluded streets and passageways of the medieval city. The congested neighborhoods were replaced by large public squares and sidewalks where Parisians could stroll among the crowds. His most notable achievement is the creation of broad boulevards. To map out these boulevards, he laid maps of Paris on his desk and drew lines across them. Those lines signified the new wide boulevards for which Paris is known today. However, for those living in Paris at the time, those lines signified the loss of their homes, their jobs, their neighborhoods, their lives as they knew them. Haussmann's lines, or *percements* as they were called, literally pierced through the heart of the city, wiping out entire neighborhoods with the stroke of a pen. Paris became unrecognizable to those who lived in the city during these sweeping transformations. Today we can chart the changes in both political and social structures through Daumier's caricatures. They serve as a barometer of the unfolding events and social ruptures that traumatized the people of Paris.

Swept Away by Nostalgia: Lamenting the Loss of Old Paris

In his December 13, 1853 lithograph (Fig. 1), Daumier satirizes the speed with which Haussmann's renovations occurred and the effect of this on people's psyche. According to the 1852 edict, the government did not have to make reparations. If citizens did receive some reparation, it certainly was not proportionate to one's loss of identity after being stripped of everything they had spent their lives working toward. Here Daumier shows a couple gazing upon the demolished city and lamenting the loss of their home to Haussmannization. The caption reads: "Just look at that, Adelaide, that used to be our bedroom … these masons have no respect for anything, they don't honor memories!" This sense of loss and nostalgia for a life that was ripped away without any shred of dignity recurs repeatedly in Daumier's prints. The couple looks on as a nameless, faceless mason, who has likely come in from the countryside, decimates their history. The couple appears to be standing directly in front of a crumbling wall, which is ostensibly their old home. The crumbling walls match their fragmented memories and signify the trauma of being dislocated without much, if any, restitution. As well, the crumbling walls signify not an organic decay, but a deliberate, purposeful destruction.

Baudelaire articulates the same sense of loss and nostalgia in his poem "The Swan." Here the poet laments the rapidly changing physiognomy of the city and the trauma of remembering the particular cobblestones, uneven ruts, and drains of old Paris.



Fig. 2. **Honoré Daumier,** *Vue prise dans un quartier en démolition*. (View of a quarter under demolition). From *Le Charivari*, March 7, 1854. Collection of the author.

Old Paris is gone (the form a city takes
More quickly shifts, alas, than does the mortal heart);
…
There used to be a menagerie here,
and one cold morning, I saw . . .
a swan that had broken out of its cage,
webbed feet clumsy scuffing on the cobblestones,
white feathers dragging in the dirty uneven ruts,
and obstinately pecking at the drains…

Paris may change, but in my melancholy mood
Nothing has budged! New palaces, blocks, scaffoldings,
Old neighborhoods, are allegorical for me,
And my dear memories are heavier than stone.[3]

Baudelaire simultaneously laments the loss of old Paris and illuminates the anxieties of new Paris – this is the rupture, or trauma, of Haussmannization. Baudelaire's poetic response to the trauma of Haussmannization involves the use of irony as a literary device. For the poet, Paris is a paradoxical synthesis of old and new; what was and what will be. In order to represent the trauma of a city thrust into modernity, Baudelaire's poem expresses the crisis of identification, alienation, and social fragmentation already occurring in Haussmann's Paris.

What is ironic in this poem is that the swan which is supposed to be elegant and floating in the water, now stumbles on cobblestones, pecking at the drains – he is lost in a transitioning city. Just as the couple in Daumier's print, the swan figures as the displaced and disoriented Parisian amidst the rubble of torn down Paris of old and does not recognize and does not yet know how to navigate the new city. Baudelaire's ironic juxtaposition conveys a type of cognitive dissonance associated with traumatic experience – where the idea of what something is, does not match the re-

ality of its existence. The immediate experience of the city's new terrain does not match the now fragmented knowledge-turned-memories of home, whether the swan or the Parisian couple. Baudelaire thus reveals an irresolvable binary between the transitory present and the eternal past.

Daumier's caricature for March 7, 1854 satirizes the same binary of the transitory and eternal as Baudelaire's poem (Fig. 2). The caption reads: "View of a quarter about to be demolished." Haussmann's scheduled demolitions moved quickly in the first decade. From 1853-1859 large portions of the city had been razed to the ground and were being rebuilt to Haussmann's standards. Buildings that had stood for hundreds of years would just vanish into rubble in the matter of a day. Here we see a family in the foreground leaving the place they have called home their entire lives. The father carrying the birdcage looks with great sadness at the old dwellings set for demolition. The mother, holding onto her husband and child, looks with dismay and shock at the adjacent street that will likely be gone the next day. The caricature shows many other individuals walking confusedly around the quarter where their families had likely lived for generations. Despite the machinelike destruction of the city, Daumier is careful to show the human aspect of urban renovation.

Since this caricature dates to the first year of Haussmann's demolitions, it also signifies the rupture and loss that manifest as a result of the 1852 governmental decree. As a satire of the decree, the caricature indirectly ridicules the inhumane actions of those in power. The word "Déménagements" figures prominently on the hitched wagons carrying the people's possessions. Déménagement further establishes this caricature as a signifier of the edict because the word itself means removal or suppression. The sign reminds us that the trauma is not only psychological, but physical. This community is being excised or cut -off from the city; amputated from the urban organism that is undergoing a radical transformation. What is ironic here is that the city marches forward while, like Baudelaire's swan, its people are held back by nostalgia and memories. What is left once the community is shattered and scattered is nothing more than fragmented memories of a life and city that continues to exist only in the minds of those who lived through the trauma. This satirical print, then, functions as a coded representation of trauma and thereby provided the ironic distance needed by those who were severed from their domestic spaces.



Fig. 3. **Honoré Daumier,** "New Paris – How fortunate for those in a hurry that they have enlarged the boulevards!" From *Le Charivari,* April 6, 1862.

Daumier's caricature from April 6, 1862 likewise deploys irony in text and image (Fig. 3). The caption reads: "New Paris – How fortunate for those in a hurry that they have enlarged the boulevards!" This caricature satirizes the paradox of modernity. The irresolvable binaries of Haussmann's impact such as the progressive broad boulevards and the undesirable crowds. The congestion and noise changed the way Parisians engaged with one another and their new surroundings. The caricature shows various crowds of people trying to navigate the physical and social changes of Haussmann's Paris in the same way as Baudelaire's swan. In the foreground a crowd of people anxiously await coaches. In the middle ground, the busy streets teem with coaches and a frazzled man is nearly crushed as he rushes across the street. In the background we see more crowds amidst the new homogenous Haussmannian apartment buildings. The biting sarcasm of the image and text together function as a unified representation of new problems that are worse than the old problems of Paris. One of the main goals of Haussmannization was to alleviate traffic congestion. Paradoxically, the broad boulevards invited more congestion since they provided space for even more traffic and, as a result, more accidents. Modernization, Daumier reveals, is not a purely positive experience that should be welcomed and applauded. Like Baudelaire, Daumier emphasizes the dual prongs of modernity; the positive and negative components of Haussmannization.

Traversing the Crowds

Daumier and Baudelaire also visualize irony in a more philosophical way that calls for more than just social commentary, it involves artistic contemplation of the self within the dense urban setting. Baudelaire's prose poem, "The Crowds," and Daumier's car-



Fig. 4. **Honoré Daumier,** *PARIS A SIX HEURES DU SOIR. - Je ne crois pas qu'à Limoges même on rencontre autant de Limousins!* [PARIS AT SIX IN THE EVENING. - I do not believe that one finds this many Limousins in Limoges!]. From Le Charivari, January 30, 1854. Collection of the author.

icature for January 30, 1854, signify trauma by examining the cognitive dissonance and alienation of individuals in crowds (Fig. 4). Daumier shows a bourgeois couple who has found themselves in the midst of a surly crowd comprised of workers who have flooded the city from the provinces in order to demolish and rebuild Paris. The caption underscores the displacement: "Paris at six in the evening. I do not believe that one finds this many Limousins in Limoges!" The man in the top hat appears angry and frustrated while his wife seems dazed and confused. The couple is quickly growing weary of the throngs of laborers and the social problems inherent in a city undergoing extreme urban renovation. The buildings on the left have been demolished almost to the ground and those to the right have just begun to fall. The weight of the demolitions presses down on the central space of the picture plane, intensifying the crushing weight of Haussmannization on the citizens of Paris.

Irony here, again, involves the cognitive dissonance of Parisians who are no longer at home in their own city. The unfamiliar crowd the bourgeois couple encounters is confusing and overwhelming, leaving them feeling alienated. According to Baudelaire, it is only when one learns to navigate the crowd and remain detached and unaffected that one can adapt to new Paris. In his poem, "The Crowds," Baudelaire assigns this detachment to the flâneur in opposition to the typical bourgeois who cannot master the crowds.

> Not everyone is capable of taking a bath of multitude: enjoying crowds is an art . . . . He who does not know how to populate his solitude, does not know either how to be alone in a busy crowd.[4]

Like Baudelaire, Daumier draws out the irony of the situation in which the bourgeoisie do not self-reflect on the loss and gaining of a new identity. Baudelaire's poem gives us access to the potential growth of the individual as figured in the flâneur. In the end, the self-aware viewer can laugh at the people lost in the crowd because of their lack of adaptability in the face of trauma. The bourgeois couple does not have the power of self-engagement to reflect on the crowd and see how they, too, are a product of modernity and change. Daumier codifies the crowd as a reflection and reaction to contemporaneous social conditions.



Fig. 6. L'Epicier (The Grocer), from *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes: encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle (The French Paint Themselves),* Paris: L. Curmer, 1840-42.

Ironic Inversions: Becoming the Flâneur

My final example demonstrates how Daumier shifts from satire, a form of comedic criticism, to irony, which presents irresolvable binaries that surprise the viewer. Daumier's June 20, 1867 caricature, Intimate Reflections of a Grocer, portrays the Baudelairean theme of the flâneur – the isolated individual who observes the crowd but remains separate from it (Fig. 5). Here Daumier employs irony by replacing the typical flâneur with a grocer. The grocer was an integral part of pre-Haussmann Parisian culture. In *Les Français peints par eux-memes* (*The French Paint Themselves*), published in 1842, the grocer figures as a social type that holds the memories of a community (Fig. 6).[5] He knew everyone in his neighborhood and was privy to all community activity. In Daumier's caricature, the grocer is no longer a heroic social type. Instead, he has been displaced, pushed to the fringes of modern society. The village grocer nolonger matters in this modern metropolis that has extended boundaries, doubled population, and new large markets and department stores. The caption subtext reads, "Do not speak ill of Panurge's sheep… they too will be fleeced!" This caption refers to Rabelais's 16th-century satire where Panurge throws a sheep overboard his ship and the rest of the flock follows suit – because that is what sheep do, they follow blindly. Thus the term "moutons de Panurge" was a well-established trope in 19th century Paris that signified individuals who follow the crowd rather than thinking for or reflecting on their individuality. Daumier's grocer reminds the viewer that it is dangerous to lose oneself in the modern urban crowds. To survive in the frightening and confusing metropolis, the flâneur must be cognizant of the dissolving physical, tangible things of this world as they become ineffable, universal and beyond the individual. As the city becomes a memory, survival depends on the ability to preserve the memories of home while, at the same time, locating the self in unfamiliar terrain.



Fig. 5. **Honoré Daumier,** *RÉFLEXION INTIME D'UN ÉPICIER Faut pas dire du mal des moutons de Panurge… Ça se tond!* (THE INTIMATE REFLECTION OF A GROCER: Do not speak ill of Panurge's sheep (lemmings)… They will be fleeced!). From *Le Charivari*, June 20, 1867. Collection of the author.

The paradoxical association of "multitude and solitude" in Baudelaire's poem, "The Crowds," matches the visual structure of Daumier's caricature. Baudelaire writes that it is tempting for the stroller to shed his unbearable reality in order to experience the euphoria that comes with being part of the universal communion. Yet, the flâneur's keen observation skills and heightened self-awareness keep him at a distance. This distance, in turn, helps to mitigate the

damage of the incessant shocks of modernity. In the caricature, the grocer has separated himself and astutely observed the ironic duality of the modern condition. In like manner, the viewer who experiences the repetitive shocks of modernity would do well to take on the characteristics of Baudelaire's flâneur. As opposed to the bourgeoisie who gets lost in the crowd, as we saw in the previous example, Daumier's grocer-turned-flâneur reveals the opposition between the interior, subjective individual who observes in isolation and the exterior, objective poet who participates in the ineffable, external world. By recasting Baudelaire's idea of the flâneur in the form of a displaced grocer, Daumier's caricature functions as an active agent mediating the trauma of Haussmannization. An exile in his own city, Daumier's grocer brings us back to Baudelaire's swan. The swan tragically stumbled among the ruins of fragmented memories in a city that had been physically and culturally obliterated as it marched toward modernization. But Daumier's grocer-flâneur promises an opportunity for adaptation. In this way, Daumier's ironic inversion mitigates the trauma of Haussmannization.

Conclusion

My current research examines written and visual representations of demolition sites in Second Empire Paris as illustrated in the prints on display in this exhibition. Napoleon III's urban renewal project (1853-70), deployed by Baron Haussmann turned the city into a fragmented yet massive construction site for nearly two decades. To date, scholarship about Haussmann's renovations employ government sponsored data and images such as Charles Marville and Nadar's photographs to illustrate the Haussmann's urban renewal project. While these materials document Paris before and after Haussmannization, they lack a human presence and thus appear artificial and contrived. Instead, I take as my source the popular press that conveys the voice of the people who experienced the traumatic loss of their homes and neighborhoods and who were forced to navigate the dangerous terrain of major construction sites all over the city for nearly 20 years. I interrogate the discursive network of journalists, writers, illustrators, and caricaturists who worked daily to document and satirize the chaotic and overwhelming nature of daily life. In approaching Haussmannization from the perspective of the people, a different perspective emerges; one that offers a view of Paris that is rooted in the soil of the city as the walls crumbled and the earth was disemboweled.

This multimodal discourse in nineteenth-century newspapers communicates and codifies the forced urban decay in the form of the worker with a pickax and the bourgeois spectator. These motifs, printed daily in word and image, mirror the experience of living with demolition and codify the act of watching the worker with the pickax. In Le Monde Illustré, Le Charivari, L'illustration, writers Jules Ferry and Pierre Véron use metaphor and allegory as rhetorical strategies to naturalize the unnatural evolution of the once organic city. Articles and images with the caption "Embellissements de Paris," portray the buildings and neighborhoods as they return to the earth. In most cases, the caption becomes ironic since the images show stones, crumbling walls, dirt, and vast holes in la terre. The embellishment metaphor is meant to naturalize the process but in turn emphasizes the unnatural progression of decay and ruin. Likewise, illustrations by Maxime Lalanne and M. Felix Thorigny present detailed analytical views of individuals situated in demolition sites and caricaturists such as Honoré Daumier satirize the demolition sites and include figures that convey emotion in their melancholic bodily forms and the added elegiac captions. The pickax and the spectator motif, always present and often repeated numerous times in each image, becomes the primary symbol of nostalgia and renewal as the geography of Paris takes a new shape from organic to inorganic.

Jennifer Pride
Florida State University
Guest Curator

NOTES

[1] Magen, Hippolyte. *Histoire du Second Empire, Bordeaux* : Bureaux des Journaux Illustrés, 1878.

[2]Magen, 250 and 255.

[3]Charles Baudelaire, "Le Cynge" ("The Swan"), *Les Fleurs du Mal* (Paris, 1861).

[4] Baudelaire, "Les Foules" ("The Crowds"), *Le spleen de Paris,* published posthumously in 1869.

[5] Gavarni, Paul, Henry Monnier, Hippolyte Louis Emile Pauquet, L. Curmer, Peter A. Wick, and Kathleen Wick. 1840. *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes; encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle*. Paris: L. Curmer, éditeur, 49, rue de Richelieu, au premier.



Exhibition Checklist

All works from the collection of Jennifer Pride unless otherwise noted.

1. **Pierre Petit, Photographer.** *Carte-de-Visite photograph of Georges-Eugène Haussmann.* Private Collection.

2. ***La Presse Illustré*, March 20, 1869**

M. le Baron Haussmann, sénateur, préfet du département de la Seine. [Baron Haussmann, Senator, Prefect of the Seine department.]

3. ***Le Monde Illustré*, May 26, 1855**
Les ruines de la rue de Lille. – Coté nord. Les ruines de la rue de Lille. – Coté sud. Les ruines de Paris. – La place de Bastille dans la journée du 10 mai.

4. ***Le Monde Illustré,* January 27, 1866**
Paris. – Démolition d'une partie de la Cité pour la construction du nouvel Hôtel-Dieu. – Vue prise de l'angle de la rue de Constantine.

5. ***Le Monde Illustré*, August 9, 1862**
Drawing by Félix Thorigny. *Démolition des théâtres du boulevard du Temple pour le percemenet du boulevard du Prince-Eugène.*

6. ***Le Monde Illustré*, May 17, 1862**
Déménagements des théâtres Boulevard du Temple.

7. ***Illustrated London News,* June 9, 1855**
Paris. –"Dames de la Halle." Drawn by Gavarni

8. ***Illustrated London News,* June 9, 1855**
"Forts de la Halle," Paris. – Drawn by Gavarni

9. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, December 13, 1853**
- Voilà pourtant notre chambre nuptiale, Adélaïde.... ces limousins ne respectent rien, ils n'ont pas le culte des souvenirs!
[- Just look at that, Adelaide, that used to be our bedroom.... these masons have no respect for anything, they don't honor memories!...]

10. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, January 31, 1853**
PARLEZ AU CONCIERGE... Mais il s'agit de le trouver le Concierge... Voilà le difficile. [SPEAK TO THE DOORMAN….But finding the doorman… That's the difficulty.]

11. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, April 6, 1866**
Coucou! le revoila!... [Yoohoo! It's (we're) back!...]

12. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, December 25, 1850**
Embellissemens de Paris - les nouvelles fortifications de la Cour du Louvre. [The beautification of Paris - the new fortifications of the Louvre courtyard.]

13, **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, March 7, 1854**
Vue prise dans un quartier en démolition. [View of a quarter under demolition.]

14, **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, December 7, 1852**
On a raison d'laisser c'te tour là debout... faudrait monter en ballon pour la démolir !... [They are right to leave this tower untouched... you would need a balloon to demolish it.]

15. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, July 12, 1850**
SUITES DU MACADAMISAGE. Aspect des Boulevards dans six mois... désespoir des propriétaires! [THE CONSEQUENCES OF MACADAMIZED ROADS. This is how the boulevards will look in six months... desperate landlords!]

16. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Journal Amusant*, December 3, 1864**
Comme quoi la propreté elle-même peut avoir ses inconvénients. [It just goes to show that even cleanliness itself has its drawbacks.]

17. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, January 14, 1851**
UN REPLATRAGE. - Mon petit bonhomme, tu as beau démolir!.... je vais replâtrer la même chose!....[ROAD REPAIR WORK. - Just keep on demolishing everything my little friend.... in the end I will mix everything together anyway.] This caricature is discussed in the *Notice on Caricature after the 1848 Revolution*, also in this exhibition.

18. Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, June 27, 1850
Le sauvage Bineau ayant enfin trouvé à utiliser sa massue sur les boulevards et fesant connaître aux Parisiens tous les charmes des routes américaines. [Finally the savage Bineau has found a way to use his club on the boulevards and to introduce the Parisians to the charms of American roads.]

19. Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, July 13, 1850
MAC-ADAM ET BINEAU AUX ENFERS. Par suite d'une punition terrible, mais méritée, ils sont condamnés à repaver les Champs-Elysées. [MAC-ADAM AND BINEAU IN THE UNDERWORLD. As part of a terrible, but well-deserved punishment they are condemned to repave the Champs-Elysées.]

20. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, November 1, 1871**
- Vous n'avez pas besoin de me rappeler ses titres, je les ai tous les jours sous les yeux. [- You don't need to remind me of his achievements, I have to see them every day in front of my eyes.]

21. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, August 7, 1867**
MARIUS SUR LES RUINES DE CARTHAGE. [MARIUS AMIDST THE RUINS OF CARTHAGE.]

22. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, January 30, 1854**
PARIS A SIX HEURES DU SOIR. - Je ne crois pas qu'à Limoges même on rencontre autant de Limousins! [PARIS AT SIX IN THE EVENING. - I do not believe that one finds this many Limousins in Limoges!]

23. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, January 27, 1854**
SUR LE BOULEVARD. - Je comprends maintenant que les Anglais aient inventé le macadam!.. ça doit leur faire vendre furieusement de cirage! [ON THE BOULEVARD. Now I understand why the English invented macadam... so they can sell huge quantities of shoe-polish!]

24. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, June 6, 1867**
Cocher! La main de notre fille!.....
[Coachman! The hand of our daughter! …]

25. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, September 25, 1869**
Les Escargots non sympathiques
The unsympathetic snails (of Progress).

26. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Monde Illustré*, August 2, 1862**
AFFREUX MACADAM! [Wretched street!]

27. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, October 5, 1855**
Une promenade d'agrément aux Champs -Elysées [A pleasant stroll along the Champs Elysées.]

28. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, February 6, 1856**
Ça ne fait rien, c'est une bien jolie invention que le macadam!
[That's quite alright...this macadam is a marvelous invention!]

29. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Journal Illustré*, March 19, 1865**
LE BOULEVARD A MINUIT. (Dessin de M. Daumier.) Sortant du drame. / Sortant des Variétés. [THE BOULEVARD AT MIDNIGHT. (Drawing by Daumier.) After watching a drama. / After watching a variety show (comedy).]

30. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, December 28, 1854**
Les Parisiens appréciant de plus en plus les avantages du macadam. [The Parisians are appreciating more and more the advantages of the macadam.]

31. Honoré Daumier, *Le Journal Amusant*, January 28, 1865
Les agréments d'une flânerie sur le boulevard Montmartre de trois à cinq heures. [The joys of taking a stroll on the Boulevard Montmartre between three and five o'clock.]

32. Honoré Daumier, *Le Monde Illustré*, May 3, 1862
Les voyageurs du dimanche. [Sunday rush.]

33. Honoré Daumier, *Le Monde Illustré*, February 8, 1862
Le Boulevard des Italiens. [The Boulevard of the Italians.]

34. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, June 29, 1850**
Les Parisiens ayant trouvé moyen de circuler, en temps de pluie, sur les Boulevards macadamisés. [Parisians having found a way to move around the asphalted boulevards on rainy days.]

35, **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, June 20, 1867**
RÉFLEXION INTIME D'UN ÉPICIER Faut pas dire du mal des moutons de Panurge... Ça se tond! [THE INTIMATE REFLECTION OF A GROCER: Do not speak ill of Panurge's sheep (lemmings)… They will be fleeced!]

36. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, June 8, 1872**
JACQUES BONHOMME. Merci, ma vieille, trop décrépite!....
[JACQUES BONHOMME. Thank you, my old lady (monarchy), but you are too decrepit!]

37. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, April 29, 1872**
Ou il n'ya plus de seve le printemps perd ses droits.
[Where there is no more sap, spring has forfeited its rights.]

38. **Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, October 8, 1866**
- Le Temps a bien fait de l'arroser... Une année qui voulait mettre le feu à l'Europe. [- Time did well sprinkling water over this year… A year that threatened to set Europe on fire.]

39. **Illustrated London News, February 5, 1853**
Arrival of the Imperial Procession at Notre Dame.

40. **Illustrated London News, February 5, 1853**
The Marriage Ceremony in Notre Dame. –The Altar.

41. ***L'Univers Illustré*, October 21, 1876,**
Paris. – Expropriations Pour le Prolongement de l'avenue de l'Opéra. Déménagement des habitants de la Butte-des-Moulins.

42. **Le Monde Illustré, March 27, 1869**
Embellissements de Paris. –Percement de la butte des Moulins avec l'ouverture de l'avenue Napoléon, perpendiculaire à la façade du nouvel Opéra et aboutissant au Théâtre-Français. Vue prise de la Toiture du foyer du nouvel Opéra.

43. ***Le Monde illustré,* February 29, 1868**
Embellissements de Paris Percement du boulevard Arago, vue prise de l'ancienne barrièr d'Enfer.

44. ***Le Monde Illustré,* June 13, 1868**
Drawing by Félix Thorigny. Embellissements de Paris. – Quartier Mouffetard. – Ruines église Saint-Marcel, sur la place de la collégiale, mises à découvert par le percement du boulevard Arago.

45. ***The Illustrated London News*, March 11, 1865**
Paris Improvements: New Market of the Temple.

Ephemera

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Hyatt, Alfred, H. *The Charm of Paris: An Anthology*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1908.

Sonolet, Louis. *La Vie Parisienne sous le Second Empire*. Paris : Payot, 1929.

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Caricature by Lafosse « Le Trombinoscope par Touchatout – Haussmann » 1871.

Various stereographs of Paris during the Second Empire from the John House Stereograph Collection at Florida State University.

Director's Welcome

The Art Gallery at Kingsborough Community College is delighted to bring the work of one of the nineteenth century's most distinguished artists, Honoré Daumier, to our students, faculty, administration and visiting guests. The exhibition developed out of discussions with scholar Jennifer Pride, who has written her doctoral dissertation on Daumier's visual commentary on Haussmannization and its traumatic impact on Parisians and Parisian life.

New Yorkers—especially Brooklynites—will no doubt see comparisons between the urban upheaval of Haussmannization and current-day gentrification. Daumier's caricatures of displaced citizens, destroyed neighborhoods, and continuous construction offer us a glimpse into the past that is disquietingly familiar.

We chose to frame these Daumier prints in a manner that does not conceal their humble origins in the popular press, allowing the viewer to experience these lithographs as those who saw them first.

The Art Gallery hopes that these images will be a springboard for thought and discussion about the intersections between art and life.

Brian E. Hack, Ph.D.
Gallery Director


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EPONCE
SPONGIEU
Gd SUCCES
BAINS RUSSES
DEMENAGEGENT
PARIS
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BAILLY
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THE ART GALLERY AT KINGSBOROUGH COMMUNITY COLLEGE